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Inoculation in Pennsylvania.

Repr. from Transact. Med. Soc. of the
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Hamilton (Alexander). A defence of Dr. Thomson's discourse. Annapolis. Phila. 1751

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Bond (Thomas). Vertheidigung der Einpfropfung und Geschichte ihres glücklichen Erfolgs in Philadelphia. Aus d. Franz. v. Jac. Her. Pfröpfer. Mit einem Vorwort v. J. C. G. Ackermann. 8°
Nürnberg & Altdorf, Recknagel, 1787.

Reference to American or English edition of above (Bond) not obtainable.

A.C.K.

April 1913

*From Oliver's Med. Journal
from Austin*

[Extracted from the Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of
Pennsylvania, June, 1865.]

INOCULATION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

BY J. M. TONER, M. D.,
OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

PHILADELPHIA, next to Boston, was the most prominent theatre of incidents connected with the progress of inoculation on this continent. It was natural that such a reform should find its warmest friends and bitterest foes among the professional men of populous cities and towns. Philadelphia had the precedence of New York till after the Revolutionary war, and had, next to Boston, the honor of introducing the new remedy into the country.

The medical reputation of Philadelphia was perhaps in advance of the other colonial cities, owing chiefly to the fact that early in the settlement of this colony, a number of highly educated and eminent medical practitioners¹ from Europe took up their residence there. Phila-

¹ Among the doctors who came at an early day to Philadelphia was Dr. Thomas Wynn, a Welsh physician of eminence, who had practised with success for some years in London. He and his brother, also a doctor, took up their residence in Philadelphia in 1682, and practised among the early settlers. Thomas, the elder brother, had a turn for politics, and was elected a member of the Provincial Assembly, which body chose him their Speaker. He left his son-in-law, Dr. Jones, who was a physician of repute, to succeed him in practice.

Dr. Griffith Owen, an English physician, about the same period and for many subsequent years, did a large if not the principal medical business of the city, and died in 1717, at the age of 70, leaving a son a doctor, who succeeded him in business, and practised for many years.

Dr. John Goodson was also an English physician and surgeon in successful practice previous to 1700.

Dr. Hodgson, an emigrant from Great Britain, practised physic and surgery in Philadelphia about the same period.

All these practitioners, except Dr. Jones, belonged to the Society of Friends, and were men of science and of high repute with the public.

Dr. Christopher Witt came to Philadelphia and settled to practise his profession in 1704. He was a skilful physician, and a man of great learning: but the vulgar suspected him of being a conjurer. He died in 1769, at the age of 90.

Dr. Graeme arrived in 1717 with Sir William Keith, the Governor of the Pro-

(1304)

delphia thus took the lead, at an early day, in all matters relating to the medical profession, and in 1762 had organized medical instruction for a class of students, and was the first city in America to lay the foundation of a regular medical college,¹ by means of which her early reputation in this respect has been maintained and augmented.

vince, and settled in Philadelphia. He was a man of superior education, had agreeable manners, and soon became one of the leading physicians.

Dr. Lloyd Zachary commenced his career as a practitioner of medicine in Philadelphia about 1720, or shortly after that date. He was an early and influential friend and aider in the establishment both of the Pennsylvania Hospital and the Medical College.

Dr. Kearsly was a man of varied acquirements, and extensively engaged in the practice of medicine and surgery about the same period.

The foregoing are the names of some of the medical gentlemen from Europe, who settled in Philadelphia, and by their ability and celebrity helped to establish that pre-eminence in medical matters which that city has ever since maintained.

From about this period doctors native to the soil, but in many instances educated abroad, began to take a prominent position in the practice and teaching of medicine in Philadelphia. I will only mention in this connection some of the others, although I might enumerate many more. Dr. Kearsly was in practice early in the last century, and left sons and grandsons, the inheritors of an honored name. Dr. John Redman was also early settled in the practice of medicine; and there is no name more worthy of honor in the annals of medicine. Dr. Thomas Cadwallader, although a native of Philadelphia, is worthy of notice in this place, and particularly so, as he is one of the earliest American medical authors, having written a small work on the iliac passion, which was published in 1740.

¹ Some conversation occurred, and perhaps an understanding was arrived at, between Dr. William Shippen and Dr. John Morgan, natives of Philadelphia, about the year 1760 or 1761, when they were in Europe prosecuting their medical studies, in reference to establishing, upon their return to America, a medical college in the city of Philadelphia. Before going to Europe, Dr. William Shippen had read medicine for three years in the office of his father, then in full practice. Dr. John Morgan had read for an equal length of time under the instructions of the celebrated Dr. John Redman, the preceptor of many professors.

Dr. Shippen arrived home in May, 1762, and, in the fall of the same year, delivered an introductory lecture to his course on anatomy in the hall of the State House, which was thronged on the occasion by the leading gentlemen of the city, who heard him with pleasure. In this lecture he urged "the expediency and practicability of teaching medicine in all its branches in this city," and announced his purpose to organize a complete course of medical instruction for students. The advertisement to his first course read thus: "Dr. William Shippen's anatomical lectures will begin to-morrow evening at his father's house in Fourth Street. Tickets for the course at five pistoles each. Gentlemen who incline to see the subject prepared for the lectures, and to learn the art of dissecting, injecting, &c., are to pay five pistoles additional."

This, his first course, begun in 1762, was attended by ten or twelve young

Smallpox in Pennsylvania, as in the other colonies, had been a frequent and dreaded visitant, and at times had made sad havoc among

gentlemen, among whom was the renowned Dr. Benjamin Rush. [See Wister's *Eulogy on Shippen*.]

Dr. Shippen was a laborious student, and was soon recognized by his brother practitioners as a man of ability in his profession. He took an interest in all public affairs, and early became an influential member of society. He was possessed of a graceful person, was easy and winning in his manners, and withal was a fluent and graphic lecturer.

The interest manifested by the public in his undertaking, and the very respectable number of young men desiring to study the profession of medicine, induced him to continue his lectures each fall and winter. Early in this enterprise he extended his lectures so as to embrace the practice of midwifery. Indeed, he may justly be considered the father of midwifery in this country; for prior to this time the practice was almost wholly in the hands of females.

Although Dr. Shippen demonstrated his lectures from recent dissections upon the human subject, he also used the elegant models and crayon drawings presented, in 1762, to the Pennsylvania Hospital by Dr. John Fothergill, of London. These drawings and models were kept in a room at the hospital expressly devoted to their preservation. This collection has since been given by the managers to the University of Pennsylvania, and is kept in the museum of the college.

During the summer of 1763 Dr. Shippen volunteered to attend the hospital every other Saturday, at five o'clock P. M., and explain the figures to all who chose to attend, upon their paying one dollar to the hospital. These were the first medical lectures ever delivered at the hospital.

Dr. Fothergill, in a letter to James Pemberton, mentions these figures and drawings about the time of their arrival in Philadelphia, in which he expresses himself as expecting Dr. Shippen to explain them, and mentions the doctor's intention to give lectures to students in medicine, and says of him: "That he is well qualified; that he will soon be followed by an able assistant, Dr. John Morgan; and that, if countenanced by the legislature, they will be very useful, and will erect a school of medicine."

In the month of April, 1765, Dr. John Morgan returned from Europe, having spent five years abroad in the prosecution of his professional studies, and was already rewarded by honorary degrees and fellowships from various colleges and learned societies. Dr. Morgan, perhaps with a view to a more speedy organization, and desiring to honor his alma-mater, was prepossessed in favor of engrafting a medical department upon the Philadelphia College, whose charter dated from the year 1749, and had provided himself with letters from influential persons in Europe, urging upon the trustees a favorable consideration of the project. His letter of application to the trustees of the college was accompanied by one from the Hon. Thomas Penn, the son of William Penn, at that time proprietary of the province, with others from influential doctors and prominent citizens at home and abroad, and was received on the 3d of May, 1765. The proposition was entertained by the Board and immediately accepted, and Dr. Morgan was appointed to the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, the position which he solicited.

the settlers. In the same vessel which brought William Penn, when he came to plant a colony in the wilderness, came also this unwelcome

At the regular commencement of the college, which took place on the 30th and 31st of May, 1765, Dr. Morgan delivered *A Discourse upon the Institution of Medical Schools in America*, before the trustees and the public, with a sketch of the proposed plan for teaching the different branches of medical education, and pointing out the advantages to accrue from the enterprise, which had the effect of interesting many in its favor. His discourse occupied part of two days. It was written in Paris, and exhibited there to his friend Powell.

Dr. Shippen was elected, at a special meeting of the trustees, to the Chair of Anatomy and Surgery in the same college, on the 23d of September, nearly five months after the election of Prof. Morgan. His letter of application to the trustees was dated Philadelphia, September 17, 1765.

The medical college may, from this period, be considered regularly organized. Systematic lectures in all the branches of a medical education were announced by advertisement in the public papers to begin on the 4th and 18th of November, 1765, and did so begin. Dr. Shippen took the lead, and embraced in his lectures anatomy, surgery, and midwifery. Dr. Morgan included all that was essential in the other branches in his lectures. Each professor delivered three lectures a week, averaging from three to four hours in length. These lectures were for many years delivered in a small building on Sixth Street, near the present office of the Board of Health.

Dr. Thomas Bond, a native of the State of Maryland, studied medicine partly at home with the learned Dr. Hamilton, though he completed his studies at the Hôtel Dieu, in Paris. Upon his return to America he located, to practise his profession, in the city of Philadelphia, in 1734. His eminent talent and devotion to his profession soon brought him into great repute as a practitioner of the healing art. To him belongs the honor of originating the movement, in 1751, which finally led to the establishment of the Pennsylvania Hospital; and he remained for many years one of its active managers. [See *Franklin's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 128.]

Dr. Bond was an influential promoter of the project of teaching the science of medicine in Philadelphia; for we find that, as early as the year 1766, he proposed to the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital to deliver there a course of clinical lectures to all students who might procure admittance to the same from the managers. The funds thus raised were, by an arrangement between the doctor and the managers of the hospital, devoted to collecting a medical library to be controlled by the latter, and to be at the service of the students subscribing and attending the clinical lectures at the hospital. Thus was begun, through the liberality and forethought of Dr. Bond, the formation of a medical library, which has become the richest treasury of its kind on this continent. His proposal being approved by the managers, he delivered his first lecture on the 3d of December, 1766. This discourse was so highly appreciated by the Board of Managers that they ordered it to be copied upon the journal or minute book of the hospital; and thus has been preserved the first formal clinical lecture ever delivered in America. This lecture was copied by Dr. Paul F. Eve, while a student of medicine, and published in the fourth volume, p. 164, of the *North American Medical and Surgical Journal*.

voyager, and laid its heavy hand on many of the emigrants, some of whom died on the passage and found a grave in the ocean. On land-

Dr. Adam Kuhn, a native of Germantown, Pa., studied medicine in the office of his father a well-educated physician, and then went to Europe and took his degree of Doctor in Medicine at the University of Edinburgh, in 1767. He had been a student for the two previous years at the University of Upsal, when the celebrated Linnæus was in the very zenith of his merited popularity, and with whom he had become a favorite pupil—a friendship that was mutual, and was cultivated throughout their lives. He returned to Philadelphia the same year that he graduated, and, on the following January, 1768, was elected by the trustees of the College of Philadelphia to the professorship of *Materia Medica* and Botany. He was a worthy disciple of the immortal Linnæus.

In May, 1768, according to a historical sketch of the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, published by direction of the faculty, Dr. Thomas Bond was elected to the Chair of Clinical Medicine, a department in which he had already engaged and distinguished himself at the Pennsylvania Hospital.

It is stated, on page 378 of the fourth volume of the *North American Medical and Surgical Journal*, that Dr. Bond was never appointed to a professorship in this college. Let this be as it may, he was long a popular and eminent teacher of clinical medicine at the Pennsylvania Hospital.

At the commencement of the Philadelphia College, on the 27th of June, 1768, Dr. Benjamin Franklin in the chair, the degree of Bachelor of Medicine was conferred upon ten gentlemen, which were the first medical honors bestowed by any American institution.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, the Hippocrates of America, and one of the immortal signers of the Declaration of Independence, returned to Philadelphia, in 1768, with his degree of medical doctor received from the University of Edinburgh. On the 1st of August, 1769, he was elected by the faculty of the college to the Chair of Chemistry. This appointment completed the medical faculty, according to the original design. Dr. Rush brought with him a complete set of instruments for chemical experiments, a present to the college from the Hon. Thomas Penn.

It is truly an imperishable honor for Dr. Rush to have been so intimately connected with the organization which successfully established the first medical college on this continent; but there is a glory and dignity clinging around his name, transcending most earthly honors, for the important part he played in ushering a great and independent nation into existence, and establishing it in health and vigor among the nations of the earth.

The Rev. Dr. William Smith, provost of the University, heartily co-operated with the faculty in endeavoring to make the medical department attractive, and he delivered lectures to the medical class himself upon natural and experimental philosophy.

On the 14th of August, 1769, an advertisement was circulated, announcing that on Wednesday, the 1st of November, a regular course of lectures, embracing all the branches of medical science, would be commenced.

Dr. Bond was to give his lectures at the Pennsylvania Hospital. The medical faculty lectured for a long time, if not from the first, in a small building on Fifth

ing, this terrible disease extended to the friendly Indians who visited the settlement, and proved to be even more fatal to them than it was to the whites. In 1730, nine years after Dr. Boylston's inoculations in Boston, one of these sweeping visitations passed through the colonies, and was very fatal in and around Philadelphia.¹ It was long referred to as "the great mortality from smallpox." As an illustration of its doings, we may mention that George Claypole, Esq., a man of wealth and commercial enterprise, who had his descent directly from Lord-General and Mrs. Mary Claypole, the favorite daughter of Oliver Cromwell, was seized with the disease and died in a few days. His interesting family, consisting of a wife and six children, all took the infection, and in a few weeks five of them were carried to their graves, leaving only Mrs. Claypole and one child, who recovered after the most imminent peril.

The enemies of inoculation in Philadelphia, as in other places, were on the alert to forestall public opinion and turn it against the practice; and, with a view to effect their purpose, had the Rev. Mr. Massey's

Street between Chestnut and Walnut Streets, which, at a later day, was occupied by the Board of Health.

From this period, medical lectures have been delivered regularly, every fall and winter, under the auspices of this institution, up to the present time, excepting two years during the Revolutionary war, part of which time the city was occupied by the British army.

In 1779, the legislature, from some fancied disloyalty on the part of some of the professors, abrogated the charter of the College of Philadelphia granted by the proprietary and confirmed by the provincial assembly, removing the provost, vice-president, and other professors, transferring the property of the college to a new institution named by its founders the University of Pennsylvania, which was further endowed out of estates confiscated during the war.

For several years a difficulty was experienced in organizing a new faculty, but this was amicably settled, in 1783, by giving to each professor the same position in the new college which he had held in the old one.

The legislature of 1789, upon representations from the friends of the College of Philadelphia, and being satisfied that injustice had been done to that institution, reinstated the trustees in the possession of their property and chartered privileges, but still left the University of Pennsylvania in existence, and in the enjoyment of its endowments from confiscated estates.

The consequence of this legislation was that two medical colleges existed for some years, when scarcely one could be supported. The faculty saw this evil, and had the good sense to remedy it. By consent of the legislature, a union of the faculties and charters was effected in 1791, the college retaining the title of the University of Pennsylvania, which it still bears. Such is a brief history of the humble beginning of the first American medical college, now an honored and formidable rival of the most celebrated universities of Europe.

¹ The population of the city of Philadelphia at that time was about 12,000.

famous sermon, preached at St. Andrew's, Holborn, republished in the *Philadelphia Weekly Mercury*, in its issue of January 1, 1722.¹ But nowhere do we find the popular sense so violently excited in opposition to the practice as in Boston. Even the sober, pious people there looked upon the inoculator, in case any one died of the disease received in that way, as guilty of murder, notwithstanding the sanction given to the practice by the royal family.

It is not intended to be denied that religious scruples existed in the minds of some Philadelphians; and as an evidence Mr. Watson, in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, says he found "in a manuscript journal of John Smith, Esq. (son-in-law of James Logan), that he thus mentions his disapprobation of the measure, to wit: 'Two or three persons (in one month) have the smallpox, having got it at New York.' Inoculation he dislikes, because it seems clear to him that we, who are only tenants, have no right to pull down the house that belongs only to the landlord who built it."

Whether there were any inoculations in Philadelphia prior to the alarm which was produced by the sweeping contagion referred to, does not distinctly appear from any authority within our reach; but from this time they are frequently mentioned. In the following March (1731) the *Philadelphia Gazette* alludes to this remedy in the following words: "The practice of inoculation for the smallpox begins to grow among us. J. Growden, the first patient of note that led the way, is now upon the recovery." Mr. Growden was a man of high character and good social position, and held an office under the royal government, so that his example had a powerful influence in securing public confidence in the new practice. But there was no general resort to inoculation, as appears from a letter of Dr. Franklin to his sister Jane in Boston, written after the epidemic had subsided. He says: "We have had the smallpox here lately, which raged violently while it lasted. There have been about fifty persons inoculated, who all recovered, except a child of the doctor, upon whom the smallpox appeared within a day or two after the operation, and which is therefore thought to have been certainly affected before."²

¹ Here is an instance where confusion or misunderstanding of dates is likely to occur, owing to the indiscriminate use of the old and new styles of reckoning. The sermon here alluded to was preached on the 8th of July, 1722 (old style), and the 1st of January, when it appeared in the Philadelphia paper, consequently belongs to the end of the year, and not to the beginning, as we now place it.

² The epidemic of 1731 continued its ravages into the year 1732, as we find in the third volume of the *Colonial Records* that, on the 19th of January, 1732, the House of Delegates, with the consent of the Governor, was adjourned until August, in consequence of the prevalence of smallpox in the city.

When the alarm subsided, all further resort to inoculation ceased, and the new remedy was scarcely mentioned for several years. But there was another alarm towards the close of 1736, when the people showed an increased confidence in inoculation, and resorted to it in considerable numbers. According to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, there were 129 persons inoculated, 32 of whom were adults, 64 children under twelve years of age, and 32 negroes and mulattoes. There was only one death, which was from among the children.¹

It was during this epidemic that Dr. Franklin lost a favorite son, about four years old, over whom he mourned for many years, severely blaming himself for not having protected the child by a timely inoculation.²

In 1742 a hospital, or, as it was then called, a pest-house, was erected on Fisher's Island, afterwards known as Province Island, because it was purchased by the province, and devoted to the use of the sick arriving from sea. Heretofore waste or deserted houses around the outskirts of the city were used temporarily as hospitals in emergencies for contagious diseases. But experience soon showed that an advantage would be gained by separating the better class of patients from the paupers in contagious as well as non-contagious diseases, and particularly in removing the latter to a distance from the city.

The earliest hospital established in Philadelphia, distinct from the poor-house, was in Judge Kinsey's old mansion, on Market Street, west of Fifth, and commonly known by the name of "Judge Kinsey's dwelling and orchard."

¹ We find the foregoing facts in Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*. He says: "The account was formed by the then practising physicians of the day, to wit, Doctors Kearsly, Zachary, Cadwallader, Shippen, Bond, and Sommers, they being the only physicians who inoculated."

² This was his second son, Francis Folger Franklin, who appears to have been a great favorite with his father, who says of him that in many respects he was the most knowing and promising child he ever saw. Franklin was a warm advocate of inoculation, but still he could not bear to expose his child to the peril, slight as it was, of inoculation; and so, when the contagion came, it fastened on the unprotected boy, and medical skill failed to save him. Many years after his death, Dr. Franklin, in writing to his sister Jane, says: "My grandson often brings afresh to my mind the idea of my son Franky, though now dead thirty-six years, whom I have seldom seen equalled in every respect, and whom, to this day, I cannot think of without a sigh." In his memoirs he also alludes to his sad loss, thus: "In 1736 I lost one of my sons, a fine boy of four years old, by the smallpox taken in the common way. I long regretted him bitterly, and still regret that I had not given it to him by inoculation. This I mention for the sake of parents who omit that operation, in the supposition that they should never forgive themselves if a child died under it. My example shows that the regret may be the same either way, and therefore that the safer should be chosen." [See Parton's *Life of Franklin*.]

In 1750, Dr. Bond, with the active co-operation of Dr. Franklin, took steps for the establishment of a permanent hospital. The trustees of the fund and managers of the new hospital, after making some repairs in the Kinsey House, opened it in 1751 as a hospital, which was continued for about six years, or until a wing of the Pennsylvania Hospital, the offspring of their efforts, had been so far forwarded as to be in condition to receive patients.

The charter for this hospital, as well as the aid of £2,000 which it received from the Assembly, was obtained chiefly through the influence of Dr. Franklin. The corner-stone of the Pennsylvania Hospital was laid on the 28th of May, 1755. The occasion was made one of considerable jubilation, at which nearly all the distinguished persons of that section were present, and not least noteworthy among them was John Key, then an old man residing in Chester County, and said to have been the first white man born in the colony.

In November, 1750, Dr. Adam Thompson delivered in the public hall of the Academy, before the trustees of the College, then just organized, and others interested in the project, a discourse on the advantages of preparing the body for inoculation before receiving the infection, by the administration of mercury and antimony. In this discourse he says: "As some late miscarriages in inoculation, though but very few, have staggered many people about a practice which I was firmly persuaded was of the most salutary nature, I thought it my duty to give a statement of my opinion to the public, with the reasons for it, in hopes that what had convinced me might possibly convince others. Besides this, I conceived I had something new and useful to offer—at least improvements on the common methods of management. And seeing that these things related to a distemper at present in this place, I cannot think unprejudiced people will judge it unreasonable." He then went on to say that, acting on the hint of Boerhaave, he had used as a preparatory medicine a combination of mercury and antimony, and had had uninterrupted success for a period of twelve years. In regard to the mode of inoculation, he recommended that the incision for introducing the variolous matter should be made in the lower extremities in preference to the arms, for the reason that the former were further from the brain, and the inoculated disease would be less likely to produce convulsions or to leave marks upon the face.

The treatment here alluded to by Dr. Thompson was largely adopted in and about Philadelphia, and spread thence to other colonies. It was regarded as a decided advantage, giving new security to the patient, and still further diminishing the risks of the acquired distemper.

Dr. Lauchlin Maclean¹ deserves mention for a treatise he wrote upon

¹ Dr. Maclean was born in the county of Antrim, Ireland, in 1727 or 1728. His father, John Maclean, was a non-juring clergyman, nearly related to the Macleans

the subject of this paper. The doctor must have settled in Philadelphia in 1756, as he published there that year an exceedingly well-written

of Call, in Scotland. Dr. Johnson, in his *Tour to the Hebrides*, visited among this ancient and influential clan, and speaks highly of their hospitality and intelligence. (See Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*.) The father of the doctor was driven from Scotland with many others in consequence of refusing to pray for King George the First and the royal family. He found a home and married in Ireland, but does not seem to have continued in the ministry. Lauchlin Maclean, the subject of this memoir, was sent from a school near Belfast to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1745 or 1746, at which place he became acquainted with Burke and Goldsmith.

On the 6th of May, 1755, he received his degree of Doctor in Medicine, from the University of Edinburgh. His thesis for the occasion was entitled "Decertatio Medica Inauguralis de Erysipelati," and was dedicated to the Duke of Hamilton.

Dr. Maclean became a member of the Medical Society of Edinburgh on the 4th of January, 1756, and was introduced to that body by his friend, Dr. Goldsmith.

It was during Maclean's studies at this university that the pleasant incident occurred, which is related by Goldsmith's biographers, of Dr. Maclean and a Mr. Sleigh, another medical student, generously relieving Goldsmith from the disagreeable embarrassment of being thrown into prison for the debts of a student for whom he had gone security.

He was fortunate in speedily gaining the confidence of the people of Philadelphia, and acquired, as we are informed by Prior, a great reputation for skill in his profession. In confirmation of this fact the *North British Review* for 1849 quotes from Almon an incident that occurred during the doctor's practice in that city, and which he terms an act of "true magnanimity." "A rival practitioner, extremely jealous of his successor, who had adopted every means, not excepting the most unfair, of injuring his credit, was at length afflicted by the dangerous illness of an only son. A consultation became necessary, and, as possessing the first character for professional skill, Mr. Maclean was solicited to attend. His zeal proved unremitting; he sat up with the patient many nights, and, chiefly by his sagacity and indefatigable efforts, succeeded beyond expectation in restoring the young man to health, refusing all consideration for his labors, and saying to his friends, 'Now, I am amply revenged.'"

Dr. Maclean is also mentioned in complimentary terms by Alexander Grayden, in his memoirs of a life passed chiefly in Pennsylvania, who says: "Among the persons who were acquainted and visited at my grandfather's were Doctor Lauchlin Maclean and his lady. The latter rarely missed a day, when the weather was favorable, of calling upon her countrywoman, my grandmother; and I well remember she was always attended, or rather preceded, by a small white dog, enormously fat, in which quality he even exceeded his mistress, who yielded to few of her species and sex in the possession of an enviable *embonpoint*. The doctor was considered to have great skill in his profession, as well as to be a man of wit and general information, but I have never known a person who had a more distressing impediment in his speech. Yet, notwithstanding this misfortune, he some years after, on his return to Europe, had the address to recommend himself to a seat in the British House of Commons."

I am induced to dwell upon incidents connected with the life of Dr. Maclean

pamphlet "On the Expediency of Inoculation, and the Season proper for it." The work is inscribed to the "Inhabitants of Philadelphia,"

chiefly on account of the distinction which has recently attached to his name in consequence of the weighty evidences adduced to prove that he was the veritable author of the Junius letters. Even though the evidence be not conclusive, it is nevertheless better than that of any other claimant. Philadelphia, too, has a right to be proud of the eminent talents, and jealous of the reputation of her professional men.

Although Dr. Maclean accepted a position in the army, it is probable that he retained his residence in Philadelphia until about 1766, when he seems pretty much to have exchanged the profession of medicine for that of politics.

He was surgeon in Otway's (the 35th) regiment, and accompanied the celebrated expedition against Quebec, in 1759, and was present when the brave Wolfe fell, on the 13th of September, in storming the Heights of Abraham.

The ungenerous spirit manifested by some of the officers to deprive Wolfe of the honors so heroically won, induced his friends, who saw this, to publish, in 1760, a letter "To a Brigadier-General," which has become celebrated for the justness of the defence, and for its unique and forcible style of expression, and is by many of the most expert judges supposed to be from the same pen as the Junius letters. Major Barre and his countryman Maclean were two of Wolfe's most intimate and able literary friends upon the expedition, and to one of these, or to them jointly, should be attributed the authorship.

Dr. Maclean was again a resident of Philadelphia in 1761. The following reference is made to him in Prior's *Life of Goldsmith*, vol. ii. p. 150: "In 1761, while Maclean was surgeon to Otway's regiment quartered in Philadelphia, a quarrel took place with the Governor, against whom Maclean, who was a man of superior talents, wrote a paper distinguished by ability and severity, which drew general attention. Colonel Barre, subsequently so well known in political life, then serving with his regiment, and who was probably involved in the quarrel, is said to have formed a regard for him in consequence of the part he took."

He served as private secretary to General Monckton, who commanded the expedition which sailed from New York about the close of 1761 for the reduction of Martinique. Otway's regiment was one of the eleven which comprised the force. They arrived off Martinique, January 7, 1762, and obtained possession of the place on the 4th of February.

The regiment to which Barre and the doctor belonged was disbanded on the 8th of March, 1762. It is probable that he returned to practise his profession in Philadelphia, but the next notice I find of him is recorded in Prior's *Life of Burke*, which is to the effect that Maclean and Wilkes arrived from Paris together.

His political career commences from this period, as Burke mentions, during the following year, in a letter to Barre, that Maclean holds the position of under secretary for the Southern department in Lord Shelburn's office. Shelburn retired from the Cabinet on the 21st of October, 1768, and of course Maclean lost his position, with all its honors and emoluments at the same time. This turn of affairs chagrined him deeply. He had had the good fortune, however, to secure a seat in Parliament from the borough of Arundel, in 1768, and which he

by Lauchlin Maclean, M. D., and printed by William Bradford, in 1756, a copy of this scarce publication was given to me in the fall of 1864, by my friend, the learned Dr. R. La Roche, of Philadelphia. Neither Dr. Maclean's biographers nor the critics who have examined his claims to the authorship of the Junius letters¹ seem to have been aware of the existence of the medical tract.

held until 1771, but, owing to his impediment of speech, his great talents were not made manifest through the ordinary channel of debate.

It was just three months from the time he lost his place of under-secretary until the first philippic against the ministry was fulminated.

On the 17th of May, 1771, he resigned his seat for Arundel by accepting the Chiltern Hundreds. The majority of the Junius letters, which so electrified the British nation, appeared while he sat in Parliament.

Lord North appointed him, in May, 1771, superintendent of lazarettos, with a salary of £1000 and travelling expenses. From this period his feelings seemed to harmonize with the ruling party. It was during this year that he wrote a pamphlet in defence of the ministry, on the subject of the Falkland Islands.

In January, 1772, he received the appointment of collector at Philadelphia, for which place he sailed about the 10th of May. The silence of Junius and the absence of Maclean correspond exactly. He returned to England in the early part of January, 1773, and on the 19th of the same month, Junius, in a short note, took his final farewell of Woodfall, "the cause, and the public."

He received, in April, 1773, the appointment of a lucrative position in India, as Commissary-General of Musters, &c. The voyage out he made in the same ship with Sir Philip Francis; and, having discharged the duties confided to him with decided ability, he resigned early in 1775.

Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General of India, appointed Colonel Maclean his confidential and political agent to England, which delicate trust he had the good fortune to discharge to the satisfaction of his patron.

In July, 1777, he departed for India on business of his friends, intending to return to England with dispatch, but unfortunately the packet "Swallow," in which he embarked on his homeward voyage, foundered at sea, and Maclean and all on board were lost. It is probable that buried with him in the ocean is the positive evidence of the authorship of the famous Junius letters.

Such was the career in life and melancholy death of an individual possessing the highest order of genius, the associate of Burke and Goldsmith, the intimate friend of Wolfe and Barre, and who was closely connected with the destiny of Warren Hastings, and whose memory is now sharing the contested honours awarded to the mysterious Junius.

¹ About fifty years ago Sir David Brewster, in looking over some papers belonging to the late James Macpherson, Esq., M. P., found several letters bearing date 1776—1777, with the signature of L. Maclean. These attracted his attention from their forcible expressions, as well as the resemblance which the chirography bore to that of Junius.

Critics agree that Junius must have been an Irishman; that he must have been familiar with military affairs, if not an officer. Maclean possessed both these requisites. Junius seems to have had a dislike to the Scotch. Maclean had reason for this feeling from the persecutions and expulsion of his father.

The doctor handled his subject with ability, using the most convincing arguments in favor of the practice of inoculation, and refuting the more important objections urged against it by its enemies. He had read most of the old works as well as the modern authors upon variola, and quoted from them when his own views were confirmed by their teachings. His principles seemed to have been derived from Boerhaave, but his practice was founded upon the teachings of the Sydenham school. He made some valuable suggestions for the general management of the disease, whether in the casual or inoculated form. With much justness he deprecated a practice which seems to have been quite general, of administering a specific course of medicine, regardless of the severity of the case or the constitution of the patient.

In a short preface he states that the treatise is designed more for popular reading than for the use of the faculty; though he adds: "Yet have I in some sort attempted to merit even the countenance of my brethren by supporting everything which I have ventured to assert by

That he had the genius and ability is shown by the controversy with Governor Hamilton, the letter to a Brigadier-General, and the pamphlet on the Falkland Islands. His position under government, as much as that of any other man, was favorable for obtaining the information which Junius possessed.

Maclean's name is mentioned by Almon, in his preface to the Junius letters, as one of the suspected authors, but he does not seriously entertain his claims. He is again alluded to in this connection by Galt, in his life of West. "An incident," says Mr. Galt, "of a curious nature has brought him (Mr. West) to be a party, in some degree, in the singular question respecting the mysterious author of the celebrated letters of Junius. On the morning when the first of these famous invectives appeared, his friend Governor Hamilton happened to call; and inquiring the news, Mr. West informed him of that bold and daring epistle. Ringing for his servant at the same time, he desired the newspaper to be brought in. Hamilton read it over with great attention, and when he had done, laid it upon his knees in a manner that particularly attracted the notice of the painter who was standing at his easel. 'This letter,' said Hamilton, in a tone of vehement feeling, 'is by that d—d scoundrel Maclean!' 'What Maclean?' inquired Mr. West. 'The surgeon of Otway's regiment—the fellow who attacked me violently in the Philadelphia newspapers on account of the part I felt it my duty to take against one of the officers. *This letter is by him.* I know the very words. I may well remember them;' and he read over several phrases and sentiments which Maclean employed against him." Prior, in his life of Goldsmith, alludes to this controversy with Governor Hamilton, but it is said that no copy of the paper containing it can be discovered.

An astonishing amount of interest has always been felt by literary men to identify the author of these unique letters, but so far without success. In this search not fewer than a hundred persons have been suggested, and plausible reasons assigned for believing each to be the veritable author. I would refer persons desiring to see a collection of evidence in favor of Dr. Maclean to the *North British Review* of 1849.

the best authority. This was required of me much as a young man, more as a stranger."

He concludes his work with a beautifully written allegory,¹ intended to make a pleasing yet forcible impression upon the mind of the reader.

¹ "As a recapitulation of the whole, I shall conclude with the following allegory, which I hope will be found just and of easy application: In a certain island of India, says the Persian historian Zadi, lived a people called Variolarii. Long were they high in the favor of Oromazes, who showered on them all manner of temporal blessings. As long as they listened to the dictates of Virtue, under whose immediate care Oromazes had placed them, they retained their purity of manners, and age and sickness were unknown among them; but no sooner did they hearken to the insinuations of Vice, a stranger whom Arimanius, envying their felicity, had sent in from a neighboring nation to corrupt them, than they began openly to disobey the mandates of Virtue, banishing Wisdom, Sobriety, Exercise, and Simplicity, her favorite servants, and preferring in their stead Folly, Intemperance, Sloth, and Sensuality, the ministers of Vice. Oromazes, enraged at this ingratitude, resolved that in their practices they should find their punishment, and recalled Virtue, permitting Vice and his train, who had thus crept in, to settle among them. The malice of these fiends was most amazing, for no sooner could a woman conceive in any part of the island, than one or the other of them was sure, by stratagem, force, or otherwise, to gain admission to her bed, and beget a spurious issue, to be born at the same moment with her natural offspring, and to continue its mortal foe; there being scarce an instance, in many centuries, of any infant coming into the world without such a monstrous brother, whose unnatural enmity death alone could terminate; and one of the two never failed to fall in the first combat, which happened frequently even in the cradle. This progeny of Vice and his companions were called Variolæ, and did not in the least degenerate from their sires, in a particular manner bearing envious rancor against the fair, whose beauty upbraided their deformity; insomuch that, though otherwise arrant cowards, these spiteful imps would suffer death at any time with pleasure, so they could rob their amiable sisters of their youth and beauty, let their share of these be ever so small.

"The Variolæ were, from the very womb, crafty and insidious, ever unwilling to engage on an equal footing, but slyly waiting all opportunities of taking their helpless unsuspecting brethren at a disadvantage.

"The havoc committed by these merciless savages was at length so terrible, and these unhappy islanders were become so completely wretched—such as gained the victory remaining for the most part maimed and deformed, for an easy conquest was seldom known, and the scars, contrary to the rules of war, were far from being held honorable, being brands to remind them of the happiness which they had forfeited—that Oromazes took compassion on their miserable condition, and sent down the nymph Hygiene to their assistance. She it was who first taught them to be brave and seek the enemy, if not through courage, which they seemed to have forgot, at least through policy, telling them that no passion was so servile as fear, consequently none of which men ought so much to be ashamed; that she knew cowardice alone occasioned the loss of many a victory, and not unfrequently baffled all her aid, where otherwise she could foresee but little danger. She also instructed them, further than they had yet known, in

The doctor was public spirited, and anxious to see all modern improvements put within the reach of the people. There were no baths at this period in the city for the accommodation of the public, or to which a doctor in private practice could send a patient if he deemed their use advisable. Baths were in common use in the hospital, but of course were not available for the public. Dr. Rush, in his *Inquiry into the Comparative State of Medicine*, says: "An attempt was made to erect warm and cold baths in the neighborhood of the city, and to connect them with a house of entertainment by Dr. Lauchlin Maclean, in the year 1761. The project was considered as unfriendly to morals, and as petitions from several religious societies were addressed to the governor of the province to prevent its execution, the enterprise was abandoned. Some years later, baths were opened for public patronage by Joseph Simons."

In 1759, Dr. John Redman, for many years the most eminent practitioner of medicine in the city of Philadelphia, published "A Defence of Inoculation," in which he recommended the practice to his fellow-citizens in the most affectionate language, and encouraged the use of mercury in preparing the patient for the disease. In his hands, it had always exercised a decidedly beneficial influence, and limited the severity of the attack. He also gave mercury in the natural smallpox, with a view to touch the salivary glands, about the turn of the pock, a period of great gravity, and when it frequently proved fatal from the inflammation which supervened in the throat and larynx.

The practice of inoculation was by no means general, and many

the nature of their enemy, and their own powers, making it appear that the Variolæ had this peculiarity in their favor, that, *cæteris paribus*, the longer they deferred their attack, the match became every day more unequal, their strength increasing amazingly with their years. On the other hand, she discovered to the Variolarii certain preparations which were friendly to them, but deadly to the foe, instructing them in the times fitting for an attack, and furnishing them also with new and proper arms for the fight, against which she foresaw the Variolæ had little dexterity to defend themselves; at the same time advising parents to prepare their children according to her directions, and force the enemy upon them, without observing any points of honor with rascals who avowedly piqued themselves on deceit and treachery. '

"Hygiene, notwithstanding her whole endeavors were bent to serve this wretched people, found yet too many of them ready to oppose her. Pusillanimity swayed some, superstition biased others, a lucky escape from the foe weighed with many, and not a few—shame to tell—among her outwardly professed friends were secretly bribed by the enemy. The consequences, however, says Zadi, were, that they who listened to Hygiene almost always gained the battle. They who disobeyed her seldom escaped with life, seldomer without maim, so that at length the salutary effects of her measures left few to oppose them, and they who did, scarce ever failed to repent it."

citizens had been carried off by the casual disease. The lecture of Dr. Thompson, the pamphlet of Dr. Maclean, and this defence of Dr. Redman, awakened a decided feeling in favor of the practice. Some time during the year 1759, Dr. Barnet, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was invited to Philadelphia to inoculate for the smallpox. The practice had gained the confidence of the people, and soon became general.

The American mode of treatment, down to the time of Dr. Sutton, was undoubtedly more successful than the English. And, as supporting testimony of this fact, I will quote Dr. Franklin, who, in a letter to Dr. Wm. Heberden, bearing date London, Feb. 16, 1759, says: "Some years since, an inquiry was made in Philadelphia, of the several surgeons and physicians who had practised inoculation, what numbers had been by each inoculated, and what was the success. The result of the inquiry was that upwards of eight hundred (I forget the exact number) had been inoculated at different times, and that only four of them had died."¹

A few years later, that is to say, in 1764, Dr. Tennet,² in his inaugural dissertation before the University of Leyden, stated that out of 8,327 persons who had received the disease by inoculation in Pennsylvania and the adjoining provinces, only 19 had died, which would be one death to 438 cases.

The mercurial treatment continued to be the favorite practice³ in

¹ Dr. Franklin is sometimes credited with having written a pamphlet of instructions for inoculation. This impression has probably grown out of the fact that he wrote a letter to Dr. Heberden, who had requested information of him concerning the smallpox and the practice of inoculation in America. Dr. Franklin complied with this request, and at the same time begged Dr. Heberden to write a short treatise on inoculation, of a character to be read by the people, and give them information upon the subject, which he did, and Franklin's letter was published in full as a preface or introduction to the pamphlet which was entitled "Plain Instructions for Inoculation of the Smallpox." It was published in England at Dr. Heberden's expense, and a large number sent over to Dr. Franklin for gratuitous distribution in and about Philadelphia.

² Tennet, de Insertione Variolarum, a 1764.

³ In 1760, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* published a particular account of the mercurial treatment, the material part of which is as follows: "The night before you inoculate, give a few grains of calomel, well levigated with a like quantity of diaphoretic antimony unwashed, proportioning the quantity of calomel to the constitution of your patient—from four grains to ten for a grown person, and from one to three for a child, to be made up into a bolus or a simple pill with a little conserve of roses or any common syrup. The next morning give a purge of the *pulvis cornachine*, made with equal parts of diaphoretic antimony, scammony, and cream of tartar. Repeat the bolus or pill three times, that is, once every other night after inoculation; and on the fifth day give a dose of Boerhaave's golden sulphur of antimony; about four grains of it for a grown person, with

America until the profession became acquainted with the method pursued by the Suttons in England, which, from its simplicity and success, soon supplanted all other modes.

Among the interesting incidents of this period was the inoculation of Thomas Jefferson, soon to be a distinguished leader in the American Revolution, and President of the great American Republic. Having made up his mind to be inoculated, he left his home in Virginia, and journeyed to Philadelphia in his own conveyance, to have the skill and experience of Dr. Shippen during the progress of the disease. A cottage located away from the town, and not far from the Schuylkill River, was rented for his use, where he passed through the disease in the most favorable manner. Though he was but twenty-three years of age, and had as yet hardly entered upon his public career, he received the attentions of many of the most influential persons of the province. This was in 1766, just ten years before the Declaration of Independence. The friendly intercourse thus opened was matured by the events of the Revolution, and existed unimpaired between them to the latest hour of his eventful life.¹

In 1776, Dr. John Morgan, while Director-General and Physician in Chief of the American army, wrote "A Recommendation of Inoculation according to Baron Dimsdale's Method." This practice in many points was similar to the Suttons', who had kept theirs a secret so far as they could. Dimsdale's method was found to be eminently successful by all European practitioners.

This publication from Dr. Morgan, as every opinion from him at this period of his professional popularity, had great weight with the public as well as with medical men, in all the provinces, and no doubt had considerable influence in bringing about the general inoculation which shortly after followed in the American army.

Early in the Revolutionary war, the importance of inoculation in protecting the army was made obvious, and the camps near Philadelphia were selected as the chief points to which soldiers repaired to take the

two or three grains of calomel made into a small pill, will operate as a vomit and purge at the same time. In the intermediate days, give two or three papers of the following powders: diaphoretic antimony, ten grains; sal prunel, six grains; calomel, one grain, mixed together (for a grown person), and one-fourth part of a paper for a child. These powders are to be continued until the variolus or smallpox is over; and, while the fever is high, let your patient drink a cup of whey two or three times a day, the whey to be made of cream of tartar instead of rennet, and those that are of full habit should be bled once or twice within the first eight days, and must abstain from all spirituous liquors, and from meat of all kinds, broth, salt, and butter."—*Penna. Gazette*, June 26, 1760.

¹ See Randall's Life of Jefferson.

disease. The armies suffered so fearfully from smallpox during the first years of the war that, in 1777, General Washington consulted his different commanders upon the subject, and then gave orders to have the whole army inoculated. Great numbers of recruits were sent to Philadelphia, and these passed through the disease under the supervision of Dr. Shippen.¹ Hospitals were established here for all the Pennsylvania troops, for all troops going South, and for recruits received from the vicinity.

General Washington had the smallpox in the casual way, in 1751, while on a visit with his brother Laurence to the Isle of Barbadoes. The attack was quite severe, laying him up for three weeks, and leaving some marks upon his face which remained during his life.

As Mrs. Washington never had the smallpox, nor had been inoculated, the General was very solicitous lest she might contract the disease about the camps when on visits to his headquarters. But she relieved him of this source of anxiety in 1776, by submitting, while in Philadelphia, to inoculation, and recovered without leaving the slightest trace that she had ever had the disease.

Washington's habit of carefully studying the health and efficiency of his army made him readily appreciate the advantages of inoculation, and he often recommended it to his personal friends.² After the war, hospi-

¹ Hospitals were also established at Morristown, N. J., Providence, R. I., in Connecticut, and near Boston, Mass. Washington, in one of his letters, says: "The smallpox has made such head in every quarter that I find it impossible to keep it from spreading through the whole army in the natural way. I have, therefore, determined not only to inoculate the troops now here that have not had it, but shall order Dr. Shippen to inoculate the recruits as fast as they come to Philadelphia. They will lose no time, because they will go through the disease while their clothing, arms, and accoutrements are getting ready."—*Letters to Congress*, February 5, 1777—Sparks.

² In a letter to his brother, John Augustus Washington, dated August 5th, 1777, he writes thus: "I congratulate you very sincerely on the happy passage of my sister and the rest of the family through the smallpox. Surely the daily instances which present themselves of the amazing benefits of inoculation must make converts of the most rigid opposers, and bring on a repeal of that most impolitic law which restrains it."

The law here alluded to by Washington was passed by the Legislature of Virginia in 1769, and was intended to regulate, not to prevent, the practice. The preamble to the law recites that, "Whereas the wanton introduction of the smallpox into this colony by inoculation, when the same was not necessary, has of late years proven a nuisance to several neighborhoods by disturbing the peace and quietness of many of his Majesty's subjects, and exposing their lives to the infection of that mortal distemper which, from the situation and circumstances of the colony, they would otherwise have little reason to dread; but forasmuch as the inoculation of the smallpox may, under peculiar circumstances, be not

tals for inoculation continued to be kept open in Philadelphia, and physicians generally had recourse to this mode of controlling the severity and danger of the disease without hindrance or opposition from any source. Indeed, it may be said that the practice became popular with the people.

Dr. Benjamin Rush recommended inoculation, and taught in his lectures, the best mode and season to practise it. In the first edition of his medical inquiries there is a chapter devoted to the subject. In 1791 he published the history of the successful treatment of a case of putrid smallpox, and at the same time advised a more general recourse to inoculation.

In the treatment of this putrid case, he depended chiefly upon stimulants, such as wine, porter, cider, barks, and animal food. He also used opiates freely. The case was singular in this, that there was no swelling of the face or salivation. Sydenham remarks that he never saw but one case recover from the malignant sort where no salivation occurred.

All authorities concur in the opinion that the danger of death is imminent where the pustules do not fill nor the face swell, as these symptoms point infallibly to the failing powers of life.

Dr. Rush speaks of the natural smallpox as being nearly extirpated.

The discovery of vaccination a few years later, and its introduction as a substitute for inoculation, caused a great revolution in the practice of the profession as regards this disease. The leading physicians of Philadelphia, and many private gentlemen, joined in giving it a prompt and hearty support. The late Dr. John Redman Coxe, then in the vigor of youthful manhood, and instinct with philanthropy and energy, greatly distinguished himself by his zeal and intelligence in forwarding the introduction of vaccine inoculation. He gratuitously distributed the vaccine virus first received from Dr. Waterhouse, of Boston, and shortly after from Europe, and then regularly propagated it in the city to practitioners at a distance. He also collected, by an active and

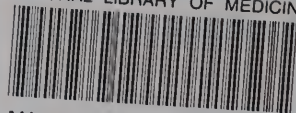
only a prudent, but a necessary means of securing those who are unavoidably exposed to the danger of catching the distemper in the natural way; and for this reason it is judged proper to tolerate it under reasonable restrictions and regulations."

It then goes on to provide the manner in which persons may give notice of the appearance of the disease in the neighborhood, or the apprehended danger of its spreading, in which case all the "acting magistrates" shall be summoned to meet "at the most convenient time and place," to "consider and decide whether inoculation is prudent or necessary, and, when determined in favor of the practice, the penalties against it are to be of no effect, and it is to be considered a lawful practice."—*Hemming's Laws of Virginia*, vol. viii. pp. 371, 372.

laborious correspondence, many facts of practical interest which he arranged in connection with his own very extensive observations, and published them in 1802 for the benefit of the profession. The citizens of Pennsylvania and the surrounding States owe a large debt of gratitude to Dr. Coxe for the promptness with which it was adopted in that region. It is impossible to form a just appreciation of the influence which his teachings and writings had upon the introduction of this great prophylactic remedy in the United States.

The practice of variolous inoculation was not entirely discontinued in Philadelphia and other parts of the State, until prohibited by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1811.

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